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ABSTRACT

Although American youth seem to be knowledgeable about civic matters and say they wish to participate in civic activities, a relatively low percentage of youth are engaged in their communities. This review examines various antecedents of positive citizenship among 12- to 18-year-olds, focusing on proximal and distal influences on organized forms of service such as community service, political participation, and environmentalism. Emphasized in the review are studies that are rigorously implemented experimental evaluations of interventions and longitudinal studies using multivariate analyses to identify predictors of positive citizenship. The review notes that very little is known about the stability of positive citizenship and discusses individual differences in positive citizenship related to gender, ethnicity, culture/nationality, empathy level, and motivation. Also discussed are the influences of parents, particular political events, and civic engagement during high school in promoting later positive citizenship. Findings suggest that participating in a service-learning or service and mentoring program is associated with increased positive citizenship up to 6 months after completion of the program and that participating in a canvassing campaign increases political behaviors. Other issues considered in the review include school mandates for civic participation and the content of effective service-learning programs. Three program implications following from the review are presented: (1) programs should adopt multiple strategies in promoting positive citizenship; (2) adolescents need to feel engaged in activities; and (3) programs need to continue over the long-term. Recommendations for future research are also delineated. A table is appended delineating areas for targeted intervention activities, effective and ineffective program characteristics, and "best bets" for intervention. (Contains 59 references.) (KB)



Background for Community-Level Work on Positive Citizenship in Adolescence: Reviewing the Literature on Contributing Factors

By
Jonathan F. Zaff and Erik Michelsen

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Introduction

Adolescents have the capacity to be positive citizens in their communities, acting to make their homes, communities, schools, and/or society a better place by being an environmentalist, volunteering in community or political organizations and committing smaller prosocial acts such as helping someone across the street. Adolescent positive citizenship often provides both needed services to the community and society, as well as psychological, social, and intellectual growth for youth (Aguirre International, 1999; Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Janoski, Musick & Wilson, 1998; Johnson, Beebe, Mortimer & Snyder, 1998).

Public and private organizations have taken-up a collective call to promote positive citizenship. The National Educational Goals for 2000, adopted by Congress, set forth "involving America's children in community service activities" as one of its primary objectives in preparing students for responsible citizenship and the American Political Science Association (APSA) has made youth civic education one of its major initiatives. The creation and sustenance of the Corporation for National Service, a government entity that funds volunteering and community service programs, demonstrates the federal government's interest in this issue.

In a society where service in the benefit of others is considered a desirable trait, positive citizenship is an end in itself; but other positive results are likely, as well, for the adolescents themselves. In addition to the community and societal benefits, being a positive citizen as a youth promotes an increased likelihood of having a strong work ethic as an adult, an increased likelihood of volunteering, an increased likelihood of voting, an increased likelihood of having a socially responsible attitude, a reduced likelihood of teen pregnancy and drug use, and other overall positive academic, psychological, and occupational outcomes (Aguirre International, 1999; Calabrese & Schumer, 1986; Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988; Johnson, Beebe, Mortimer & Snyder, 1998; Moore & Allen, 1996; Morgan & Streb, 2000; Youniss, McLellan, Su & Yates, 1999; QOP Evaluation).

Unfortunately, less than half of youth demonstrate positive citizenship. For instance, although there is a trend toward greater community service and volunteerism among adolescents (Faison & Flanagan, 2001) there is still a relatively low percentage of youth who are engaged in their communities. Estimates of volunteerism range from approximately 30% to 50%, depending on the data cited (e.g., Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csap, & Sheblanova, 1998; Harris Interactive, 2001; National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998; U.S. Department of Education, 1999; Zaff, Moore, Papillo & Williams, 2001). This does not mean that adolescents are not engaged in activities. In fact, upwards of 79% of youth have joined a club, such as sports teams or academic and arts clubs (National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998).

A modest level of positive citizenship by youth is also illustrated by the low rate of political involvement by adolescents and low rates of voting by young adults. Reasons may range from apathy, lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, or insufficient time. While active citizenry is valued in the U.S., voter turn-out data and much anecdotal evidence suggests a high level of political malaise among America's youth. In fact, in one study, only 14% of youth between 15 and 24 years of age reported ever participating in a club or organization that directly deals with politics or the government (National Association of Secretaries of State, 1998). According to the National Election Studies, for those born in 1975 or later and eligible to vote in the 1996 presidential election (i.e., 21 years old and younger), only 46% went to the polls, with

that number dropping to 38% in the 2000 election. That percentage is markedly lower than found for the cohort of voters born between 1959 and 1974 (62%) and all other older Americans (over 80%). Non-presidential election years give an even bleaker view of youth political involvement, with 20% and 15% of youth voting in 1994 and 1998, respectively.¹ For all ages, the 36% voter turn-out in 1998 was well below that of other less stable countries, such as Colombia (45%), Estonia (57%), and Lithuania (53%; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

These low rates of citizenship activities are surprising considering that American youth seem to be generally knowledgeable about civic matters and they say that they have a desire to participate in civic activities. According to the most recent National Assessment of Education Process (NAEP) report, 70% of students in all three grades assessed (fourth, eighth and 12th) were at or above the basic level of civic knowledge (NCES, 1999). Furthermore, a nationally representative poll conducted by Harris Interactive (2001) found that youth state that they will become active citizens. Sixty-seven percent of youth between 12 and 17 years of age said that they planned on getting involved in the issues about which they cared the most. The results of the International Education Association study of civic engagement (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) corroborate this stated desire to be engaged, showing that 85% of 14 year olds plan to vote, 59% plan to collect money for a social cause, and 50% plan to collect signatures for a petition.

Given these findings, there appears to be other factors aside from civic knowledge and desire to participate that lead to actual positive citizenship behaviors in later adolescence. In the present report, we examine the various antecedents that promote positive citizenship among adolescents (i.e., 12-18 years old). Given that both proximal and distal influences may affect youth (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1986), we will include factors close to the youth (e.g., parents, peers and teachers), as well factors more distant (e.g., neighborhood, public policies, the media, and societal norms). Furthermore, we will focus primarily on organized forms of service such as community service, political participation, and environmentalism.

Considering the variety of activities that comprise positive citizenship, readers should be cautious in assuming that antecedents are consistent across activity type. In fact, researchers do not yet know whether community service, political involvement, and environmentalism share the same antecedents. Considering the dearth of research available on positive citizenship, though, we present the research as a whole, instead of presenting these components separately. It should also be noted that longitudinal and experimental data are sparse and therefore making conclusive statements is difficult. The reader will probably notice that research on the antecedents of environmentalism is found only in the individual-level section of this report. This should illustrate the great need for further research on adolescents in this area. There is enough data, though, at least to suggest pathways through which to promote citizenship among youth.

Methodology²

The body of research on the factors that predict positive citizenship focuses on characteristics within adolescents and within the various components of the environment (e.g., family, friends, schools and the neighborhood). In this paper, we present a methodologically selective review of the research pertaining to each layer of an adolescent's ecosystem. We emphasize (1) studies that are rigorously implemented experimental evaluations of interventions, in which aspects of the environment are manipulated and indicators of positive citizenship

¹ See www.umich.edu/~nes.

² The criteria for study inclusion in the present report were culled from a review of school readiness written for the John L. and James S. Knight Foundation (Halle, Zaff, Calkins, & Margie, 2000).

examined; and (2) studies that are longitudinal, involving the examination of aspects of the environment as predictors of positive citizenship and that conduct multivariate analyses taking background characteristics of the families into account.

We have emphasized these types of studies for several reasons. An experimental/control group study is the only research design that permits causal conclusions (as long as they are well-implemented and there is not extensive attrition in the sample over time). It should be noted, though, that experimental designs run the risk of not being generalizable to populations other than those, which were studied. Therefore, we also highlight studies that have been replicated with similar results across different populations and geographic regions, because successfully replicated interventions have a better chance of being reproduced in additional locations than do studies that have been carried out in a single place, at one single point in time. In addition, longitudinal studies that control for background characteristics can address change over time and address predictive validity better than studies that collect data from one time period (i.e., a cross-sectional design). When little or no information exists for a certain topic, we have included cross-sectional studies for which there is evidence that initiating programs with these activities has the potential to contribute to increased levels of positive citizenship; these studies are identified, however, so readers will not place undue confidence in their findings.

Since the focus of the paper is on adolescents (i.e., 12-18 years old), we have mostly tried to include studies that assess outcomes during adolescence. However, when little or no information exists for adolescents, we have included studies of adults, including college students, that might suggest how to promote positive citizenship among adolescents. These results should be viewed with caution, however, until research is available that examines adolescents.

Due to the rigorous criteria we set for our selected literature review, we may not have identified all research findings, programs, and activities across the country that may be effective in promoting positive citizenship.

Positive Citizenship

*Stability*³

Very little is known about the stability overtime of positive citizenship, because longitudinal studies are generally not conducted on volunteering, voting, and environmentalism trends. Instead, most stability data come from the literature on prosocial behaviors. In this research, which mostly occurs in controlled laboratory settings, prosocial behavior is generally defined as sharing or allocating personal resources to help another. Although, as previously mentioned in the methodology section, experimental designs are the gold-standard for suggesting causality, using experimental designs can hinder the ability to generalize results beyond the experimental setting. For instance, it might be that helping someone in need in a laboratory does not necessarily relate to the participant's usual behavior in the real world. With that in mind, we have found studies on prosocial behaviors and motivation to act prosocially that may suggest various patterns.

Several studies indicate that that moral and prosocial behavior develops along a natural trajectory. As one example, a study by Eisenberg and colleagues (Eisenberg, Carlo, Murphy & Van Court, 1995) tracked a small cohort of 32 predominantly Caucasian American participants (16 boys and 16 girls) from four to five years of age until the youth were either 17 to 18 or 19 to

³ In this report, stability refers to a given characteristic enduring over a period of time.

20 years old. A second cohort of 34 predominantly Caucasian American adolescents (14 boys and 20 girls) was assessed only once, in 12th grade. The researchers found a trajectory of prosocial moral reasoning (i.e., reasoned motivation for helping others). Some characteristics increased over time. Specifically, hedonistic (to gain for oneself), needs-oriented (the physical, material or psychological needs of the other person), and stereotypic reasoning (stereotyped images of a good or bad person) declined during adolescence, with hedonistic reasoning increasing slightly again in young adulthood. Other characteristics increased across the adolescent years. Higher level reasoning (e.g., feeling good or bad as a consequence of living up or not living up to internalized values, internalized responsibility, duty or need to uphold laws and accepted values or norms), meanwhile, increased throughout adolescence and into adulthood.

The stability of political involvement is suggested by the political behaviors of former student activists (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). Data was collected in 1986 from 85 adults who had been assessed 25 years earlier concerning their political activism. The researchers found that the ex-student radical activists and institutional activists participated in a wide range of local political activities (e.g., community activism, party and campaign work, political communication) 25 years later.

Caution should be used when attempting to generalize these results, since the sample sizes are very small and not nationally representative. Also, there is not evidence available that demonstrates a relationship between low-cost prosocial behaviors like sharing or more intensive behaviors like political action and other positive citizenship behaviors like volunteering and promoting environmentalism.

Individual Differences

Individual differences are important to acknowledge, especially when designing programs to promote positive citizenship. Program developers can be aware of those who are most at-risk of not being positive citizens. Program developers can also know on which particular individual-level characteristics on which they should focus.

Several individual differences have been examined regarding positive citizenship behaviors. As an example of the array of potential individual differences, an analysis of the National Household Education Survey of 1996 (NHES; Niemi, Hepburn & Chapman, 2000) found that females, Caucasian Americans, students for whom English is their primary language at home, 11th and 12th graders, and those students who have the highest grades were found to be the most likely to participate in community service.⁴ To give a more in-depth examination of individual differences, the following section focuses specifically on gender, ethnicity, culture, empathy, and motivation; the areas that have come under the most empirical scrutiny.

Gender

There is some evidence that gender differences exist in positive citizenship behaviors. Using cross-sectional data, Flanagan and colleagues (1998) found that, in five countries (United States, Australia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia) females were more likely than males to report having engaged in community service. In the Czech Republic and Sweden, there were no gender differences. This finding is consistent with 1999 data from Monitoring the Future (Johnston, Bachman & O'Malley, 1999), an annual nationally representative survey of high school seniors.

⁴ NHES is a large-scale, nationally representative cross-sectional sample of sixth through 12th graders

Females (33.6%) were found to participate in community affairs or volunteer activities more than males (28.3%).

According to the most recent data on voting in presidential elections (from the 1996 race) from the annual *Trends in the Well-being of America's Children and Youth* report (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999), fewer 18-20 year old males (30%) voted compared to 18-20 year old females (35%). Although younger youth are not able to vote, results from the NAEP suggest that girls are more knowledgeable about politics than boys. More specifically, a higher percentage of 8th and 12th grade girls scored at or above the proficient level than 8th and 12th grade boys.⁵ It should be remembered, though, that knowledge of politics is not necessarily associated with a greater rate of political activity.

Unfortunately, there are no nationally representative data available to analyze the association of gender and environmentalism (either attitudes or behavior) among youth. However, analyses of national survey data of adults yield interesting results. Blocker and Eckberg (1997) analyzed data from the 1993 General Social Survey (GSS), a nationally representative cross-sectional survey of 1,557 adults, to look at gender differences in attitudes toward the environment and pro-environmental behaviors (Blocker & Eckberg, 1997). They found that women showed a greater concern for health and safety issues and the welfare of animals than did men. In addition, women were more concerned about pollution, were more "green" or environmentally "friendly" in their personal lifestyle, and more in favor of animal rights than were men. Men and women who possess higher social status, greater knowledge, and more trust in science are more likely to engage in pro-environmental action and are less likely to see the economy as more important than the environment. Caution should be taken when trying to generalize these findings to adolescents, though, since little is known about the developmental differences in environmental attitudes between adults and youth.

Ethnicity

Differences in volunteering based on ethnic group membership in the United States do not appear to exist. According to an analysis of the 1996 version of the NHES (Niemi, Hepburn & Chapman, 2000), African American and Hispanic adolescents volunteer for community service at the same rate as Caucasian American adolescents. Whether or not English was the predominant language in a household was not related to participation. This is consistent with data from the 1999 Monitoring the Future survey (Johnston, Bachman & O'Malley, 1999), which found that Black and White high school seniors participated in community affairs and volunteer activities at approximately the same rate.

According to the most recent data on voting in presidential elections (from the 1996 race) from the annual *Trends in the Well-being of America's Children and Youth* report (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999), shows that 18 to 20 year old White youth (51%) voted a higher rate than Black (31%) or Hispanic (30%) 18 to 20 year old youth. Further, an analysis of NHES suggests that Caucasian American adolescents have an overall higher political knowledge than African American and Hispanic adolescents. This result was corroborated by results of NAEP, which showed that a higher percentage of Caucasian American and Asian/Pacific Islander 4th, 8th, and 12th graders were at or above the proficient level than African American and Hispanic 4th, 8th, and 12th graders.⁶ However, one ethnic group of

⁵ see www.nces.ed.gov

⁶ see www.nces.ed.gov

adolescents does not appear to feel more politically efficacious than another ethnic group of adolescents (Niemi & Chapman, 1998).

Culture or Nationality

A specific culture or country should not be considered the antecedent of positive citizenship. Instead, cultural norms and policies are probably the driving forces of behavior. Research on cultural norms as an antecedent of positive citizenship is sparse, but there is some evidence that culture may be associated with youths' motivations for engaging in positive citizenship behaviors (Keller, Edelstein, Shmid, Fang & Fang, 1998). Longitudinal data taken when 97 Icelandic children were 7, 9, 12 and 15 years old were compared with cross-sectional data from 350 Chinese children at comparable ages. The respondents were approximately equally distributed among gender and social class categories. Analyses showed that Icelandic youth focused on self-interest and contractual concerns and that Chinese youth focused more on altruistic and relationship concerns.

A similar study by Boehhnke, Silbereisen, Eisenberg, Reykowski and Palmonari (1989) found more major similarities than differences. Drawing on samples of sixth, ninth, 10th and 12 graders from Berlin, Germany (142 males and 179 females), Bologna, Italy (102 males and 135 females) and Warsaw, Poland (47 males and 78 females), the researchers administered a questionnaire on prosocial moral reasoning. A short-form of the questionnaire was also given to another sample in Berlin of fifth and sixth graders and seventh and ninth graders (590 males and 625 females) and second and third, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth graders in Phoenix (134 males and 143 females). Three major findings were revealed in the analyses: 1) motivations derived from the characteristics of the individual for prosocial acts (intrinsic motivations) were the most desired; 2) motivations derived from external characteristics (extrinsic motivations) were the least desired; 3) at age 12, girls preferred intrinsic motivation more than boys.

Overall, there is little evidence regarding the effects of culture on positive citizenship. The results that are available are mixed and these studies use small and non-representative samples that focus on different countries. Also, there is no research on culture as a factor of volunteering, voting, or environmentalism – three major manifestations of positive citizenship. Therefore, more research is needed to determine if specific cultures tend to promote specific norms or policies and distinct types of positive citizenship motivations and behaviors.

Empathy

Empathy has been suggested as a predictor of altruism (e.g., see Eisenberg, in press, for a review), but results have been inconclusive, with most research using predominantly Caucasian American samples and correlational designs. Batson and colleagues (Batson, Batson, Todd, Brummett, Shaw & Aldeguer, 1995; Batson, Dyck, Brandt, Batson, Powell, McMaster & Griffitt; 1988; Batson & Shaw, 1991) have looked deeply into this topic and have experimentally tested several hypotheses for what motivates children and youth to act altruistically. In one of their more recent studies, Batson and colleagues (1995) manipulated empathy among 120 college students (60 men and 60 women) and 45 college students (15 men and 30 women) in an experiment to test the hypothesis that feeling empathy for an individual would result in an altruistic act for that person. Results from the study confirmed the hypothesis, with those who experienced high empathy allocating more resources to the target of the empathy. Research on college students also suggests that the closeness that a person feels to another person may mediate the association between empathy and helping (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce & Neuberg,

1997). Overall, though, more research is needed on adolescents to determine whether empathy is an antecedent not only of helping behaviors, such as sharing and giving, but also an antecedent of community service, political involvement, and environmentalism.

Motivation

The motivation behind performing acts of positive citizenship has been found to be related to performing the act, net of other background characteristics such as family and individual processes. Unfortunately, the research on adolescents is sparse. Findings of studies on the motivations of adults to be involved in community service suggest that there are different types of motivations depending on the task. For environmentalism, two types of motivations have been conceptualized (Thompson & Barton, 1994): anthropocentrists, who are characterized by their support of environmental conservation for the reason that human comfort, quality of life, and health can be dependent on the preservation of natural resources and a healthy ecosystem; and ecocentrists, who support environmental issues because they see nature as worthwhile, in and of itself, regardless of economic or lifestyle implications. Thompson & Barton (1994) found that ecocentrists are more environmentally conscious than anthropocentrists.

Two main types of motivation for community service participation that have been found for adults are collectivistic motivations and individualistic motivations (Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996; Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman & Chavis, 1990). Data from one study of Israeli adolescents corroborates this finding. Avrahami and Dar (1993) examined the collectivistic and individualistic motivations of community service volunteers among 415 kibbutz youth in Israel (192 boys and 223 girls).⁷ Four hundred sixty-five youth, matched to the age of the other cohort, who chose to go directly to the army were also assessed. The results revealed a range of motivations for volunteering, going from more individualistic motives (egocentric expressivism and non-conformist exploration) to collectivistic motives (conformist exploration and altruistic instrumentalism).

Other types of motivation may exist for adolescents, as well. In one study, Johnson, Beebe, Mortimer & Snyder (1998) examined a longitudinal panel sample of adolescents in St. Paul, Minnesota. One thousand ninth graders were selected for inclusion in the study and subsequently followed over a four-year period; 933 participants remained in the fourth year of the study. Analyses found that between 13% to 19% of the students volunteered during each year of the data collection, with over 40% of the participants volunteering at least once over the four years of the study. On average, the students participated in these activities for approximately four to five hours per week. Regarding predictors of volunteering, ninth graders with higher educational plans, aspirations and grade point averages and an intrinsic motivation toward school had a greater likelihood of volunteering in grades 10 through 12. More specifically for girls, having a higher academic and positive self-esteem and overall well-being, and lower self-derogation was related to a greater likelihood of volunteering.

Individuals need to have the opportunity to help, not just the motivation. Research with adults suggests that a desire to participate (i.e., their motivation) combined with their knowledge of and accessibility to volunteer opportunities is associated with participation in youth prevention programs (Kauffman & Poulin, 1994; Poulin & Kauffman, 1995). These results were derived from data collected from 1,019 adults (50.9% male with a slight oversampling of high SES) in one study and 250 participants (51% male and 66.7% Caucasian American coming primarily from middle to lower SES families) in the second study.

⁷ After high school, kibbutz youth many times spend one year volunteering before entering required military service.

In summary, longitudinal and cross-sectional research, while minimal, suggests several tentative conclusions. First, several researchers have found that females are more likely than males to perform prosocial actions. Although an explanation for this gender difference is not clear, researchers suggest that parents and society socialize females to be more empathic and therefore more prosocial; this logic follows since research has found a consistent association between empathy and prosocial behaviors. Although gender differences exist, few, if any differences among ethnicities and cultures have been identified to date. This lack of difference may suggest that prosocial moral reasoning is a universal construct with a universal developmental trajectory. Finally, aside from empathy, motivation appears to be a good predictor of prosocial actions, such as community service and environmentalism. There does not appear to be one particular motivation, though, that predicts prosocial actions. Rather, several different motivations (e.g., collectivist and individualist, or ecocentrism and anthropocentrism) may drive the same behavior, but with a different rationale for that behavior.

There are two important limitations to consider. First, since there is no empirical evidence to support the intercorrelation of prosocial moral reasoning, political involvement, volunteering, and environmentalism, the research on one of these indicators of positive citizenship may not be generalizable to the others. Therefore, more research is necessary before definitive conclusions can be reached across positive citizenship types. Second, there is a lack of research on adolescents. Therefore, caution should be taken when applying these results in the practice world until more research on adolescents is available.

Nonetheless, the available individual-level results suggest that programs should take individual differences into account. For instance, having programs that are designed to be developmentally appropriate and tap specific motivation types might be more effective than programs that try to affect the population as a whole.

Parenting

Parents can act as socializing agents for positive citizenship among youth, either by reinforcing adolescents' actions or by modeling positive citizenship behavior. Several small, cross-sectional studies have revealed a relationship between parenting (i.e., reinforcement, modeling, warmth and support) and adolescent positive citizenship (e.g., Kasser, Ryan, Zax & Sameroff, 1995); but few longitudinal or experimental studies have been conducted. In one example, Fletcher, Elder and Mekos (2000) analyzed data from the Iowa Youth and Families Project, a longitudinal study of 451 Caucasian American families from several rural counties in north central Iowa. Using data from the 9th and 10th grade waves, they sought to determine whether parental influence predicts adolescent involvement in community service (e.g., Sunday-school teacher, Future Farmers of American) and other community level activities (sports, academic activities, etc.). Overall, it appears that parental modeling of participation, parental warmth, and parental reinforcement of adolescent behavior is associated with extracurricular activity participation, including community service. Parental reinforcement of youth involvement is most predictive when the parents are not, themselves, involved in community service activities.

In a nationally representative, longitudinal study of volunteering behavior, Hart, Atkins, and Ford (1999) investigated the development of volunteering behavior among adolescents. Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, Child Sample, the researchers studied the reasoning behind volunteer service (what the researchers consider to be a contributor to the development of moral identity) of 421 males and 407 females. This nationally representative

sample was comprised of adolescents born to mothers who were 14 to 21 years old in 1979 and therefore are the children of younger mothers who tend to be disadvantaged. The adolescents had an average age of 16 at the time of the survey. The results suggest that cognitively and socially stimulating family environments and parent-child activity participation predicts greater volunteer service.

In a cross-sectional, cross-cultural study, Flanagan and colleagues (1998) examined civic commitment among 5,579 12 to 18 year old adolescents living in seven countries (United States, Australia, Sweden, Hungary, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Russia). The researchers sought to identify variables that were associated with a future commitment to contribute to one's country and to improve one's society. A consistent finding across all seven countries was that a family ethic of social responsibility was associated with civic commitment.

Overall, there is evidence to suggest that parents can influence the positive citizenship of youth. More specifically, parents who act as role models, who reinforce volunteering behavior in their children, and who participate in general activities with their children have children that are more likely to be involved in volunteering activities. However, longitudinal data are sparse and experimental studies are non-existent. Also, we found no experimental or longitudinal research that examines parental influences on political participation or environmentalism among adolescents. Therefore, caution should be taken when drawing general conclusions about positive citizenship.

Society

There is the potential that events that occur throughout the world can have an effect on adolescents' positive citizenship. However, as with many other antecedents of positive citizenship, the research base for youth is sparse. One study on by Sears and Valentino (1997) at least helps to illustrate how societal level factors may influence the development of positive citizenship. The researchers investigated how a political event (in this case, the 1980 Wisconsin presidential primary) can socialize youth to be politically active. The researchers used three longitudinal waves of data taken from a probability sample of Wisconsin families (second wave N=501 pairs, third wave N=366 pairs), with youth aged 10 to 17 years old. Surveys were taken before the Wisconsin presidential primary (January to March, 1980), after the election, and one year after the end of the election. Before the election, the youth did not have a concrete political identity; making partisan statements without knowing facts or having deep thoughts about the topics. During the campaign, youth partisan attitudes became more concrete, with an increase in knowledge of the candidates and their political parties. However, at the one-year follow-up, most political identity gains had dissipated.

Engaging Youth

Engaging youth in positive citizenship activities has been the most heavily studied area of positive citizenship antecedents. Overall, research has demonstrated relatively strong associations between being engaged in civic activities in high school and later civic involvement. Smith (1999) analyzed the National Education Longitudinal Study: 1988 (NELS) data to attempt to determine the association of engagement in activities in high school and political participation in adulthood. NELS is an ongoing nationally representative, longitudinal study that has tracked adolescents from eighth grade in 1988 until two years after high school in 1994. Smith found that previous extracurricular voluntary participation was most predictive of future political participation (e.g., registering to vote, voting and volunteering in political organizations). Smith

also found that parental involvement and youth's sense of control and confidence were partially predictive of extracurricular activity participation and civic virtue in high school.

Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Senior Class of 1972, Hanks (1981) explored the relationship between youth participation in voluntary activities and participation by those adolescents in adulthood. He found that extracurricular activity participation during the senior year of high school was related, two years later, to more political campaign participation, to more discussion of political issues and to a higher likelihood of voting. This finding remains after controlling for social class, academic performance and self-esteem. The indirect relationship goes through volunteer participation in adulthood. The strength of the association is greatest for participation in activities that are a means to an end (e.g., honorary clubs, vocational education clubs, school newspaper), as opposed to activities that are an end in themselves (e.g., athletic teams). This finding has been replicated in an analysis of Monitoring the Future (combining data from 1988 to 1993), a cross-sectional and nationally representative dataset of high school seniors (Youniss, McLellan, Su & Yates, 1999). After controlling for several background variables such as religion, gender, socioeconomic status and minority status, the researchers found that frequency of community service was strongly and significantly related to participation in conventional political activities (whether had or were likely to vote, work on a political campaign, contribute money to a political campaign, and write a letter to an office holder) and unconventional political activities (whether had or were likely to boycott some organizations or participate in a public demonstration for some cause).

A similar finding came from a study using High School and Beyond data (Glanville, 1999). Using data from the first wave (1980) and third follow-up (1986) of this nationally representative survey of high school seniors, Glanville found that extracurricular participation in activities that have some tangible outcome as the goal, such as student government, debate, and the school newspaper, was predictive of working for a campaign, attending a political gathering, and contributing money to a campaign as a young adult. The association remained after controlling for several individual level variables (locus of control, sociability, political interest, community leadership), church attendance and demographics. However, an association with voting disappeared once the individual level variables were included in the model.

There is also the possibility that simply being consistently engaged in any kind of activity as an adolescent is associated with being engaged in positive citizenship activities in young adulthood. Zaff, Moore, Papillo and Williams (2001) used data from a panel sample of NELS:88 who had completed high school. The researchers found that consistent participation in any type of extracurricular activity (e.g., student government, school newspaper, community service, sport team, academic and arts clubs) predicted a 50% greater likelihood of going to college, voting in national or local elections and participating in community service two years after high school. This outcome was found net of parent, peer, school and other individual level variables.

It should be noted, though, that barriers may exist to being involved in engaging activities. For instance, using the data from the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (Child Supplement), Hart and colleagues (Hart, Atkins, & Ford, 1998) discovered that a low socioeconomic status (SES) may act as a barrier to volunteering (which Hart and colleagues consider to be an indicator of moral development) because it could preclude low SES participants from having the opportunities to be involved in volunteer activities.

In summary, analyses of nationally representative datasets reveal that participating in civic activities during high school, or even just participating in any extracurricular activity, predicts participating in civic activities in adulthood. However, these are not experimental

studies and causality, therefore, cannot be concluded. Indeed, there is a strong possibility that those who choose to participate in such activities already possess the characteristics (e.g., motivation, mature moral reasoning) that predict later involvement. The studies in this section also examine being engaged in general or specific activities without being aware of the content of the activities. The next section accounts for this problem by examining specific programs that are meant to promote positive citizenship. It should be noted that only one of these programs has been experimentally evaluated. The others have used quasi-experimental designs. Therefore, caution should be taken when drawing conclusions about causal relationships between the programs and the desired outcomes.

Programs

There have been numerous programs created that involve engaging adolescents in community service or other volunteer activities. However, few evaluate the programs for effects on later positive citizenship, instead focusing on other positive outcomes such as an increase in school engagement, a decrease in school drop-outs, a reduced rate of teen pregnancy and substance use, and an increase in high school graduation. One high quality program that experimentally evaluated positive citizenship at program follow-up is the Quantum Opportunity Program (QOP), a multi-service, four year, year-round demonstration project that was conducted in five cities (San Antonio, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Saginaw, and Oklahoma City). The program was designed to serve disadvantaged youth by giving youth a supervised and safe place after school in which to do homework, learn to use computers, take field trips to museums, hear speakers on different health topics and participate in volunteer activities. Learning life skills is also part of the curriculum. An older mentor was paired with the youth to mentor them during the four-year period that started in ninth grade and continued through high school. Students were given a small stipend for participating in program services and given bonuses for completing program segments. Each of the sites had a relatively small number of participants (N=25 per site) because of the cost of compensating the participants.

By aggregating across sites, and using a randomly assigned experimental/control group design, Hahn, Leavitt and Aaron (1994) were able to determine the effectiveness of the program, including the post-high school effectiveness. Along with a plethora of positive impacts (e.g., increased rates of high school graduation and post-secondary education, reduced rates of high school drop-outs, and increased number of students with the attitude of being "hopeful about the future"), the experimental group donated significantly more time to a nonprofit, charitable, school, or community group in the six months after leaving the program than the control group. In the six months before the program ended and the six months after it ended, the experimental group participants were also significantly more likely to have served as volunteer mentors, tutors or counselors. There was not, however, a follow-up beyond the six month follow-up.

Having volunteer service as a component of a program is one strategy for promoting positive citizenship, but there is a current push to integrate community service into the curriculum in schools. Called service-learning programs, these strategies couple classroom teachings of civics and community responsibility with required community service in the form of political and non-political participation. The American Political Science Association (APSA), in particular, has become very involved in this endeavor to instill civics in this country's youth (see APSA's website for further details <http://www.apsanet.org>) and Senator Paul Wellstone has sponsored the Hubert Humphrey bill for service learning, a funding mechanism that would distribute millions of dollars to service learning programs and research if it were passed.

A national quasi-experimental evaluation of Learn-and-Serve America, service-learning programs funded by The Corporation for National Service (CNS), was conducted by The Center for Human Resources at Brandeis University (1999). CNS is a government entity created to fund programs that support school and community-based efforts to promote community service. For example, in 1994-95, the Corporation gave approximately \$30 million in grants to support over 2,000 programs involving more than 750,000 youth. The Learn-and-Serve evaluation covered the years from 1994 to 1997 and consisted of an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse sample.⁸ The programs were selected through a structured sampling process from a group of 210 randomly selected sites. Although there was variation among program characteristics, all of the programs chosen for the evaluation had been in operation for at least one year, reported higher than average service hours of participants, reported regular use of student written and oral reflection, and were school-based and linked to a formal curriculum.

Across the sites, students provided, on average, 70 hours of direct service, such as working as a tutor, in a nursing home or in a homeless shelter. Over 75% of participants had face-to-face contact with those that they were serving, such as meeting with students or senior citizens. This service also generally involved both individual and group projects. Very importantly, 80% of the program participants felt that they had made a contribution to their community and over 60% said that their service involved real responsibilities, a chance to do things themselves, and opportunities for discussion. Post-program results demonstrated short-term effectiveness. Aside from educational implications (e.g., school engagement, higher school grades) high school participants had significantly higher service leadership attitudes and civic attitudes than the comparison group. Program participants were also significantly more likely to have volunteered for and spent more time doing community service. Middle school participants, aside from having better social studies grades and fewer arrests and instances of pregnancy, were also significantly more likely than controls to have volunteered, but did not volunteer significantly more hours.

Participants were also evaluated one year after the program to determine longer-term associations with positive outcomes. Of the original 1,000 participants, 764 were involved in the follow-up (460 program participants and 304 comparison participants). The only effect that remained for middle school students was a marginally significant difference on number of arrests in the previous six months (i.e., participants having fewer arrests). High school participants provided almost twice as many hours of volunteer service as comparison students, but this effect was only marginally significant. Service leadership was significantly greater for participants, but the size of the effect decreased over the past year. Also, these longer-term associations may be confounded by individual characteristics. For instance, those who continued to be involved in community service after the end of the program were significantly more likely to volunteer and have college aspirations, and less likely to consume alcohol than those who did not continue to be involved in community service. It is quite possible that this exemplary group of youth were the reason for any statistically significant impacts of the program at the one-year follow-up.

"We the People...Project Citizen" is another civics education program that seeks to engage middle school students in their communities by giving instruction on how to participate

⁸ The evaluation consisted of 1,000 student participants and matched comparison group members at 17 sites (10 high schools and seven middle schools). Forty percent of the participants were male and 58% were classified as White, 17% were classified as Black/African American and 19% were classified as Hispanic. The remaining six percent were either Asian, Native American, or multicultural. Thirty-eight percent of the students were economically disadvantaged and 30% were educationally disadvantaged.

effectively in a civil society (http://www.civiced.org/project_citizen.html). More specifically, Project Citizen engages students in public policy issues within their communities. Students not only learn about the political process, but also research problems in their neighborhoods and develop ideas about how to solve them. Started during the 1995-96 school year, Project Citizen has grown into a nationally recognized curriculum used in all 50 states and American Samoa, Guam and Washington, DC by approximately 3,800 teachers. Nearly 232,000 students have been taught using this curriculum.

A quasi-experimental evaluation was conducted with a total of 102 classrooms and 1,412 students. The classrooms were located in three different political units: Indiana (275 treatment students and 267 comparison students), Latvia (139 treatment students and 126 comparison students) and Lithuania (295 treatment students and 407 comparison students). A pre-test/post-test design was used, with students filling out the Civics Development Inventory, which contained questions on civic knowledge, skills and dispositions. The findings, which were consistent across the three units, suggested that Project Citizen was effective, independent of the country in which it was used. More specifically, the treatment group had significantly higher scores on civic knowledge, self-perceptions of civic skills, and propensity to participate in civic and political life. Curricular implementation and the students' perceived level of participation or involvement in the program was also related to the civic outcomes. Although the results were consistent across the sites, caution should still be taken in generalizing the findings to the entire United States since Indiana was the only state studied.

Increasing political participation was the goal of a canvassing program implemented during the 2000 presidential election. The experimental evaluation was based on random voter mobilization experiments geared to those under 30 years old living near college campuses in New York, Colorado, and Oregon (Green & Gerber, 2001). Although this experiment focuses on an age-group generally older than the focus of this report, we believe that it is important to understand ways to increase political participation among a relatively young group; especially considering the low-level of interest that political candidates take in issue that are important to younger adults. The researchers found that phone-to-phone canvassing produced significant increases in voter turnout rates (five percentage points) in New York, but the program did not have any significant impacts in either Oregon or Colorado. However, when the authors aggregated the results across the sites, they found an overall significant treatment effect of a five percentage-point increase in voter turnout. It should be noted that this was a relatively conservative evaluation, because a successful contact included both actual conversations with the target youth or young adult, but also if a voice message was left on the answering machine.

The researchers also evaluated a face-to-face canvassing program in Oregon. They found that face-to-face canvassing produces a significantly greater rate (8.5 percentage-points) of voter turnout. Interestingly, through non-experimental analysis of others living in the participant's home, the researchers found that for every 100 treatment participants in the canvassing experiment, there was a total of 8.4 additional votes mobilized through what the researchers considered to be a "spill-over effect." Overall, the researchers conclude that 20 successful phone contacts translate into one additional vote and 12 successful face-to-face contacts translate into one additional vote. Although these results have great implications for political strategists, the results do not address the stability of political behavior. More long-term follow-ups are necessary to determine if the increase in voting behavior is a one-time effect or if it represents an actual change in young adults' long-term attitudes and behaviors.

Engaging youth in civic activities can have the dual effect of both increasing youth and parent civic involvement. McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) tested their "trickle up" model in which they theorized that increased youth civic knowledge would act as a catalyst for political discussions with parents. This, in turn, would result in the increased civic knowledge of parents. In essence, the researchers proposed that school-based stimulation "trickles up" and into the family. Using non-experimental data collected to evaluate Kids Voting USA, a school-based curriculum dealing with voting in a democracy. During an election year, a multi-lesson plan is implemented for at least six weeks at the beginning of school (assuming that the election would be in early November). The participants included a representative sample of families in San Jose, California, that included a student in any grade between 5th and 12th. Four hundred fifty-seven parent-child pairs were selected randomly for a telephone survey during the three weeks beginning the day after the election. Results of the data analysis supported the researchers' conceptual model. Student exposure to the curriculum predicted higher levels of parent-student discussion about the upcoming election, which was significantly related to higher levels of parent civic knowledge. This model has been supported in other studies, as well (e.g., McDevitt, Chaffee & Saphir, 2001).

Overall, the experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations suggest that participating in a service-learning or service and mentoring program is associated with an increase in positive citizenship up to six months after the completion of the program and that participating in a canvassing campaign increases political behaviors. The effectiveness of these programs over the long-term is less promising or unknown. Also, considering that only two of these evaluations were experimental, more experimental evaluations are necessary before definitive causal links can be established. However, it should be noted that programs generally do not teach youth how to find new opportunities for positive citizenship once the program has ended. Therefore, the possibility exists that youth transition from a program in which all contacts for positive citizenship participation are organized for them, to an environment in which they must seek out their own opportunities (Flanagan, personal communication).

School Mandates for Civic Participation

The use of service-learning programs in schools is based primarily on state public policy. More and more schools have service requirements for graduation, but fewer have an accompanying curriculum requirement. In a scan that was conducted of state-level policy across the country, the Education Commission of the States (ECS, 2001) sought to determine the mandates that existed for youth regarding service-learning programs. Overall, it was found that, as of December 2000, 23 states did not mention service-learning in their state-level policies. Although mention is made of character education and community service in state-level education standards, these are considered to have different meanings than service-learning.⁹ Seven states in the U.S. have policies that service-learning activities can be applied toward graduation requirements and one state, Maryland, requires service-learning for graduation. Eleven states encourage schools to use service-learning to increase student achievement and engagement, while six states include service-learning within their education standards. Finally, it was found that six states have appropriated funding for the creation of service-learning activities and programs.

⁹ *Character education* generally teaches students "right and wrong" but does not include a participation component. *Community service* programs generally do not include a curriculum component. *Service-learning* combines curriculum with participation.

Researchers have hypothesized that those who would not initially choose to volunteer freely would be even less likely to volunteer in the future if mandated to volunteer. To examine this hypothesis, Stukas, Snyder and Clary (1999) conducted an experimental study with sixty-three college students (35 men and 28 women). Their study suggests that a mandate to participate in civic activities (in this case reading to the blind) has no impact on those who would have participated anyway, while those who would not have initially participated are less likely to volunteer in the future if mandated to participate. Replication of this research with youth is needed before the effects of mandates on youth can be determined.

Program Implementation

The content of effective service-learning programs has not been the focus of experimental research; most, if not all, has been correlational or qualitative. However, there are data available that suggest particular program attributes of which program designers should be aware. For instance, Conrad and Hedin (1982), in an evaluation of 27 experiential education programs, found that the presence of seminars that occur at least once per week was the strongest variable predicting student positive citizenship. Also, engaging youth in the formation of service-learning programs has been suggested as an important program characteristic. Such interactive classroom time allows for reflection and makes for an explicit connection between the service and the learning (Katula, 2000). Other factors that have been found to be effective components of service-learning programs include the length of the program and the number of experiences (i.e., program intensity; Conrad & Hedin, 1982). Providing opportunities for interesting activities in which adolescents feel appreciated for their work and they can see the impact that they have on their communities may help to make the experience a positive one for youth. Research findings also suggest that students should be involved in the formation of the programs. In other words, youth should be given a voice in deciding the types of activities in which to participate and the curriculum in school (Civic Liberty Project, 1999; Garvey, McIntyre-Craig & Myers, 2000; Katula, 2000; Morgan & Streb, 2000). Garvey and colleagues (2000) make several suggestions for how to give youth a voice. They suggest allowing adolescents to assess their community's needs for programs, making sure to engage adolescents in discussion during class time, sharing program planning responsibilities, letting youth help with determining the budget and funds needed for the program, allowing youth to apply what they have learned in the classroom to the implementation and eventual evaluation of the program, and celebrating the impact that they and the program have had on the community.

An implementation assessment of Project Citizen was conducted from 1997 to 1998 (Tolo, 1998). Surveys of program participants revealed information about implementation success and barriers as well as students' perceptions of the program's benefits. For instance, results reveal that teachers were well-trained to deliver the curriculum. Conference presentations, simulated activities, use of teachers as teacher-trainers and student-led discussions were different strategies that were used to teach the teachers. Barriers to proper implementation included unavailable lesson plans, inadequate funding, untimely training sessions, and teachers having an inadequate foundation in civic education. Regarding students, they believe that, after going through the curriculum, they can and do make a difference in their communities, they learn how government and public policy works, learn about community problems, learn communication and research skills and learn how to function in a group setting. Very importantly, they also report that they enjoy participating in Project Citizen.

Summary

There is mixed evidence for the effectiveness of programs that promote positive citizenship. QOP and the canvassing experiment, the two experimentally evaluated programs, had effects in the short-term after program completion. However, long-term evaluations might be necessary to make definitive conclusions. For instance, the Learn-and-Serve evaluation suggested that program effectiveness diminished by the one-year post-program follow-up. However, this study used a quasi-experimental design and therefore conclusions should be tempered.

Along with these mixed, but hopeful, findings, research evidence suggests that civics programs can have the double-benefit of promoting civic knowledge among both youth and youth's parents. However, replication of these studies using larger, nationally representative samples and experimental designs is needed. Clearly, further experimental research, overall, is necessary to determine the long-term effects of citizenship promotion programs.

Since the implementation of programs has been found to be a strong predictor of effectiveness, program designers should be aware of the specific content of the program that is being presented in school districts. Correlational research suggests that giving youth a voice in the program design and implementation, instilling a sense of accomplishment and worth in youth, and having teachers that are prepared to lead programs are some of the components of programs that both teachers and students say are important. More research is necessary across different types of programs, across different sites and across different ethnic groups to determine the best strategies for all sub-populations.

Two other positive outcomes should be noted. One is that through youth participation in the education component of service-learning programs as well as through youth participating in activities, students have a greater knowledge of the world around them and, hopefully, a better understanding of the political process. Although the connection between knowledge and action has not been established, knowledge, at the very least, is an important component of being a citizen. A second positive outcome to note is the benefit to communities. Youth volunteers, in the present, can help improve the infrastructure and social capital of a community, thus improving the lives of those affected by programs. This benefit can be felt on a national scale when youth are involved in political activities.

Conclusions/Recommendations

There are several points to consider from the available research on positive citizenship. First, it is important to highlight three main program implications. Research suggests that:

- *Programs should adopt multiple strategies in promoting positive citizenship.* The available literature suggests that there are associations between positive citizenship and individual, parental, and societal level factors. Also, programs that are effective, at least in the short-term, such as Quantum Opportunities, use multiple strategies. Therefore, future programs should use multiple strategies at several levels of an adolescent's environment, as well as focusing on the individual, in order to be most effective. Examples of points of intervention could be adolescents' motivation to act as positive citizens, adolescents' values, adolescents' role models, and adolescents' socialization (i.e., the community and culture in which youth are raised.).
- *Adolescents need to feel engaged in activities.* Having youth who are placed into boring volunteer positions will inevitably ensure that they probably will not want to volunteer

again. Allowing youth to be part of the planning process of programs and providing ongoing input into the workings of organizations is one strategy that research suggests helps in engaging youth. In addition, providing youth (and adults) with easy opportunities to get involved appears to increase greatly the likelihood that they will.

- *Programs need to continue over the long-term.* Promoting positive citizenship is not a "one-shot deal." The intensity of programs is important, as well; not just how many hours per week, but also how many weeks or months of participation.

Considering the many limitations that are apparent in the research base on positive citizenship among adolescents, the following are recommendations for future research:

- *Basic measurements of positive citizenship need to be developed.* There is no consensus on how to define or measure positive citizenship. For the present report, we used general prosocial behaviors, volunteering/community service, political participation, and environmentalism as the main indicators. However, we do not yet know if these indicators are representing the same underlying construct (i.e., positive citizenship) with the same antecedents, or whether each of the indicators represents its own construct with its own, unique antecedents.
- *Data resources need to be developed.* Once a firm decision is made on how to measure positive citizenship, short questions could be placed into large, nationally representative datasets; particularly longitudinal surveys. Presently, relatively few indicators exist. With the richness of contextual and individual variables in these surveys, more longitudinal, multivariate analyses could be conducted to parse out the associations between various antecedents and positive citizenship. This would greatly increase our knowledge base regarding how to promote positive citizenship.
- *More research needs to be focused specifically on adolescents.* The research on adolescent positive citizenship is sparse, whereas many studies (e.g., the Saguaro Project and the National Association of Secretaries of State study) have focused on the post-adolescent years. Not focusing on adolescents implies that the promotion of positive citizenship begins in young adulthood, thus discounting the important events that occur in childhood and adolescence. Therefore, more longitudinal research with adolescents is needed to demonstrate the long-term development of positive citizenship and to give a more concrete understanding about how to promote positive citizenship.
- *More rigorous experimental studies are needed on the impact of positive citizenship interventions and also on the impacts of varied intervention strategies on positive citizenship.* Of the four program evaluations that were described, only two, Quantum Opportunities and the canvassing experiment, used experimental designs. Using a quasi-experimental or correlational design prevents evaluators from drawing causal links between the program and the outcomes.
- *More long-term follow-ups are needed to test program effectiveness.* The evaluations cited in the present report use follow-up durations that range from six months to one year. With program effectiveness dissipating after one year in the Learn and Serve study, evaluators should decide if the goal of programs is to produce involved citizens for a six-month duration or if the goal is to produce citizens who are involved for their entire lives.

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Table: Review of the Research Literature
and Implications for Targeted Activities to Improve Adolescent Positive Citizenship

AREAS FOR TARGETED INTERVENTION ACTIVITIES	WHAT WORKS	WHAT DOESN'T WORK	MIXED REVIEWS	BEST BETS
Political Involvement	- Programs that use door-to-door and phone canvassing directed toward youth.			- Involve youth in voluntary extracurricular participation. - Engage students in discussions about public policy issues in their communities and teach them about the political process (e.g., Project Citizen). - Expose students to civics curricula in school.
Community Service	- Programs (Quantum Opportunities) that combine life skills training with mentoring and rewards for participation in programs (Increase is apparent 6 months post-program participation).		- Service-Learning programs (e.g., Learn-and-Serve America) that combine civics education with a community service component.	- Promote the community service participation of parents in addition to their children. - Increase the availability and accessibility of community service opportunities, particularly for low-SES youth. - Implement programs that occur at least once per week. - Provide youth the opportunity to feel appreciated for their work and have input in the formation of programs.

Environmental Activism					- Encourage youth to value the environment in its own right, apart from its usefulness to humans, through education programs aimed at informing you about the complexity of nature.
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